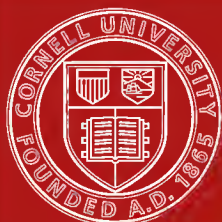


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# PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS

(SECOND SERIES)

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No. 1

## JELEBU

### ITS HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

BY

A. CALDECOTT,

*F.M.S. Civil Service*

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PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE  
FOR MALAY STUDIES, FEDERATED MALAY STATES

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KUALA LUMPUR:  
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1912

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## PREFACE.

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THE compilation of this pamphlet was suggested by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson while Resident of the Negri Sembilan, who has kindly supervised and aided its preparation throughout. It was originally intended that it should form part of his "Notes on the Negri Sembilan," and the Chronology, wherever the Christian year is stated, is borrowed from his book.

The writer is also indebted to Abdullah, Dato' of Jelebu, for much information and especially for the use of his "Hikayat Jelebu." Valuable assistance must also be acknowledged from To' Omar Idris, of Ulu Klawang, and To' Dagang Jati, of Jerang.

The interesting diary of Mr. Queritz, first British Officer in Jelebu, and Mr. O'Brien's notes in the "Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," No. 14, p. 337, have been of great use to the writer.

A. C.





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## PART I.

### HISTORY.

#### I.—PRIOR TO 1757 A.D.

THE folklore of Jelebu abounds in tales of the origin of its present inhabitants. These tales differ considerably in detail but possess much in common. It will be necessary here to review only one version in full—namely, that which is accepted as the genealogical tree of the *waris sasilah* (*silasilah*) of Jelebu. The story runs as follows: “From the seventh heaven fell Batin Terjali, Maharaja Alif, and the latter’s wife, *Putëri Ambong Sëri Alam*. Maharaja Alif begat Maharaja Bepang who wedded *Putëri Lindong Bulan*, and the latter bore a son, Raja di-Raja. Then said Gabriel to Batin Terjali ‘Seek out places for your children and people the earth that inmates may be found for heaven and hell.’” So Maharaja Bepang went and ruled over China, and Batin Terjali took the rest of his family to Menangkabau where he made Raja di-Raja King, under the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah Maliku’l-Alam. Then he and Maharaja Alif and *Putëri Ambong Sëri Alam* went to Johor to build a palace for Mahmud Maharaja. However at that time Menangkabau sent a king to rule over Johor and Mahmud Maharaja went to rule over the country called Daik as Sultan Muda. Then they proceeded to Gunong Berapi, where *Putëri Ambong Sëri Alam* was delivered of a son, named by Batin Terjali Kunkanda Raja di-Raja, Batin Tunggal Gagah, and he was deputed by Batin Terjali to go and open up the

country of Klang. Then the three proceeded to Bukit Kundek, where in a single day *Putëri Ambong* conceived and bore a son, Shah Alam Raja Sari, who abode with Lambong Setia Raja, whose origin is not mentioned till later.

On Gunong Berambu she bore another son, Klana Petra Batin Makbut, who opened up Semujong; and on Bukit Seriba was born Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Batin Chalam, who was the founder of Johol. Thence they went to the Mountain of Meeting and called thither their four children, from Klang, from Bukit Kundang Kundek (Kenaboi), from Semujong and Johol. Then Batin Terjali and Maharaja Alif appointed Batin Lambong Setia Raja to be their successor, telling him to descend from the mountain and wheresoever he should find a dish of rice waiting for him, there to open up the land. After this he was to set the limits between earth and sea and between the countries of the four children of Maharaja Alif. Having so spoken, Batin Terjali, Maharaja Alif and *Putëri Ambong Sëri Alam* vanished; and Lambong Setia together with Shah Alam went to Bukit Buaya Buaya beneath which he beheld a plate of rice (Kuala Dulang is beneath Bukit Buayan to this day). So he opened up the country round about and then went to set the boundaries as he had been directed. At this time he changed his name to Batin Mahagalang. The limit betwixt earth and water he placed at Pulau Upeh, the spot whereon Batin Terjali had alighted on his fall from heaven. He went to Kuala Muar where he chiselled the stone called Batu Pahat, and fixed the boundaries as follows: Between Johol and Jelebu, *lëban bësi, batu bërdinding lantak* and *tëmiang tumpat*; between Jelebu and Semujong, *sëmambu*

*sarumpun* and *nibong* tengah *ayer Bukit Tangga*; between Semujong and Klang, *tunggul si-jaga-jaga* and *langkap berjuntei*; between Klang and Jelebu, *lēbah bērgoyang*, *pulai bērsila* and *Ginting Piras*; between Jelebu and Pahang, *mērēbau sa-ratus*, *mēranti sēmbilan* and *Bukit Batu Bulan*. So Batin Mahagalang returned to Jelebu and appointed Jēnang Singa Raja Setia to succeed him. Thus the *waris bērsilasilah* look back to Batin Terjali for their origin, and the *waris bērundang* to Maharaja Alif and *Ambong Sēri Alam*; for Lambong Setia was the son of Batin Terjali, and Shah Alam Raja Sahari the son of Maharajah Alif; and Shah Alam Raja Sahari became Mantēri to the Mendika Mantēri Akhir Zaman Sultan Jelebu.

An account given by a member of the *waris Kēmin* gives the name of the founder of Jelebu as Sri Mani, who was the son of *Pētēra Indlēra*, who was the son of Adam. Sēri Mani was assisted by To' Lela Setia, who corresponds to Lambong Setia of the other story. The Kemin version is inflated with references to Adam and Gabriel and Alexander the Great and is, on the face of it, only a reproduction of the other story with a veneer of purely Malay romance such as might commend it to lovers of the semi-scriptural and heroic. The worth of these tales is best estimated by a reference to a modern survival of the ancient order of things, and to a few facts of the more recent history. The survival alluded to is the heritage of the country and its chieftainship, for the term *waris* is applied in Jelebu in two entirely different senses: (a) the inheritors of the penghuluship; (b) the inheritors of the country. The undang is elected in turn out of three *waris*: the *waris Ulu Jēlēbu*, the *waris Sarin* and the *waris Kēmin*. These names are those of

the localities in which the members of the *waris* reside ; and these localities are all situated near the river Jelevu. The *waris nĕğĕri* include the *waris Mantĕri* and the *waris Ombi*, called after the titles of the two great officers which they respectively supply. These five *waris* between them include every single member of the Biduanda tribe in the country ; and even immigrant members of the tribe are admitted into the *waris Mantĕri*.

This comparatively simple state of affairs has, however, become terribly complicated owing to the mistaken idea once prevalent among officers of the British Government in supposing that the terms *waris* and *biduanda* were synonymous in meaning "hereditary owners of the country." Until British protection the country was partitioned as follows : the *waris Ulu Jĕlĕbu* owned Langkap and Jenam (both tributaries of the Jelevu) ; the *waris Sarin* owned the rivers Sarin, Pah and Relei (all joining the Triang within three miles downstream of Kuala Jelevu) ; and the *waris Kĕmin* owned the place of that name (about two miles up the river Klawang from Kuala Jelevu) and also the lands on the Pertang and Bemban rivers which join the Triang within a quarter of a mile of each other near the present kampong of Bemban. In fact the lands of the three *waris bĕrundang* were merely small definite valleys held by the right of occupation only as tribal demesnes (*sawah yang bĕrjinjang lĕmbaga yang punya*). In the case of the *waris Mantĕri* and *Ombi* the matter is entirely different. The hereditary lands are not valleys but ranges of hills : to the *waris Mantĕri* belonged Bukit Kundek, Bukit Buhai, Permatang Gelanga, and the two rivers Lemi and Kenaboi ; to the *waris Ombi*, Bukit Gubang-gubing, Bangkang Gading, Lĕbah Bĕrgoyang,

Moyang Kaban, Gapau, Měmpēlas and the rivers Tinggi and Glami. These names are of especial interest as several of them appear in Mr. Skeat's Besis "Songs of Origin." Bukit Kundek is in the Ulu Kenaboi, and Gelanga is probably the same as Galenggeng, the hill on which the Ulu Kongkoi trigonometrical station now stands. Bukit Lēbāh Běrgoyang is in the Ulu Triang, near Gapau. These hills with their valleys include the whole of Jelebu north of the Triang river.

When the country was opened to tin-miners under British protection nearly all the stanniferous deposits were found in this northern territory, with the result that the *waris Ombi* and *waris Mantēri* should have been the gainers by the collection of *hasil tanah*. When, however, the *hasil tanah* was commuted into a fixed allowance in 1891, the Dato' Penghulu Saiyid Ali took advantage of the ignorance of the British Administration as to the meaning of the term *waris*, and also of the opportune vacancy of the post of Ombi, to make a compact with the two older *waris* whereby the three *waris bėrundang* were admitted to a share of the *hasil tanah* from what was not really their land. The Collector of Jelebu (as the District Officer was then called) was kept in ignorance of this *muafakat*, but its existence is an undoubted fact known to all Jelebu Malays. The document is probably still in existence, but for obvious reasons will not be produced. This, then, is the very recent origin of the present *waris* system of Jelebu whereby every single member of the Biduanda tribe participates in the monthly allowance into which the *hasil tanah* has been commuted.

The heirlooms of the various *waris* also serve to throw a light on the early history of the country. The

*pēsaka* of the *waris Mantëri* is an ebony earstud (*subang kayu arang*); that of the *waris Ulu Jëlebu* an ivory earstud (*subang gading*), and a blowpipe of hard-wood (*sumpitan kayu bëbëras*); that of the *waris Këmin* a sword of execution (*pëdang mëmanchong*), and that of the *waris Këmin* a headcloth with a mourning band (*dëstar bërkabong*), an inlaid dagger (*këris bërtatah*) and a "silver finger-nail" spear head (*changgai putëri*). The *waris Ombi* (as being descended from the Jenang only) have no *pēsaka*. Even if we did not know the comparative recency of the origin of the *waris Sarin* and *waris Këmin* from their late appearance on the list of the rulers of Jelebu, we could have deduced it from the fact that their heirlooms consist of Malay as opposed to Sakai articles.

It remains now to note that in the list of *Undang* of Jelebu there are mentioned two names before that of Moyang Saleh (who obtained from Abdul Jalil V, Tengku Besar of Johor, somewhere about 1757 A.D., his title of Mendika Mantëri Akhir Zaman Sultan Jelebu)—namely, To' Moyang Gombak, who is said to have come from Menangkaban, and To' Moyang Mentunggang, both of whom bore the title of Penghulu Jelebu (which, by the way, is the title which has been perpetuated by general usage in preference to the more grandiloquent one conferred by Abdul Jalil V). It is also noticeable that an insignificant little stream in the extreme south of the district should have given its name to the whole country north of it. This must have puzzled the Malays of thirty years' ago into giving the fanciful explanation that in To' Moyang Saleh's time "the name of Jelebu was unknown; and it was not until some time later that the country was so called after a man of that name who



was drowned in the river Triang" ("Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," December, 1884, page 337).

This forms all the evidence which we have from Malay sources or institutions as to the early history of the country, but it is by itself sufficient to establish one or two facts. The original inhabitants of the country are now represented by the *waris Mantëri* and *Ombi*, which two titles are probably Malay substitutes for those of Batin and Jenang. These people inhabited the hills running from Ulu Triang to Gunong Hantu, while the Malays came into the country over the two southern passes of Langkap and Bukit Tangga. Those who came by the last-named pass had their own penghulus and associated themselves with Sungei Ujong: they will be treated later and separately. The others settled in the Ulu Jelebu at the bottom of the Langkap Pass and also had penghulus of their own. They then pushed downstream towards Kemin and Sarin, and came in contact with the Sakai progenitors of the *waris Mantëri* and *Ombi*. About this time Moyang Saleh arrived with his newly-acquired title and seal; and whether as a result of war or treaty a *muafakat* must have been arrived at with the aborigines. Their Batin became Mantëri to the new Sultan and the Jenang Ombi; both offices carrying with them the very real powers which they still possess. The Ombi has the right of directing and superintending the election of a new Dato' Penghulu and the Mantëri the right of confirming or quashing that election, he himself being the regent of the country during the interregnum under the quaint title of Raja Sa-hari, the king of a day.

These deductions from kampong stories and existing custom have received complete corroboration from a most unexpected quarter—namely, the Biduanda or Mantra of

Ulu Kenaboi. The Penghulu Dagang of this interesting aboriginal tribe described the history of his people to the writer as follows. Pa Galang was the first Batin, he descended from heaven. His son who succeeded him was also called Galang and his grandson, Chan Galam. The latter went south and settled at Larong and Pianggu (both these places being near Kuala Jelebu). Chan Galam's son, Pa Asah, went back to Kenaboi and made his clearings on Bukit Kundek, while his grandson, Tapak, went to Ulu Glimau. Then there appears to have been a general disruption of the tribe. A Batin Dudun opened up the country beyond Meranti Sembilan in Pahang, while a Batin Bulu ruled in the Kenaboi hills so far as Karak and Telemong (in Pahang). Batin Timpo opened up Glami and Batin Ranggong the Ulu Triang, including *Lěbah Běrgoyang* and Bangkong Chondong. Langkap was in charge of a certain Batin Pěkong, whose peculiarly repulsive name suggests that he may have been the forefather of the present leprous Besis colony at Sebaring. The Malays first confronted the Biduanda in the time of Batin Galang II. According to the Mantra story there was a meeting of the two peoples on Bukit Galenggang. Here there were displayed on one side a bunch of plantains and a sarong, and on the other *sětawar* leaves and the bark of a *těrap* tree (used by the Sakai for cloth). The rising generation of Biduanda were then asked to choose between them. The girls all chose the pisang and sarong and became Malays, but the youths stood by their *sětawar* and *těrap* and returned to their native hills. Galang's daughter was betrothed to a Malay prince and an agreement between the two peoples was inscribed on the skin of a *jawal* (monitor lizard). Later, however,

the skin was devoured by a dog while the prince disagreed with the Batin's daughter, who ran back to her father and became the ancestress of the present Mantra population.

This picturesque story is, probably, of some historical value. The marriage of Malays with the aboriginal womenfolk is, of course, an undoubted fact, but the chronology fits in well with the Malay tales. Chan Galam's settlement at Larong must have formed the first Biduanda community that incoming Malays would have met. The Malay records state that the first Dato' Ombi under Moyang Salleh was a man called Bata of the *pěrut* Larong and of the *waris yang bėrundang*. In the writer's opinion the term *undang* is here applied to the Batin for reasons to be explained later. He might well therefore have been a son of one of Chan Galang's daughter by a Malay husband. It is easy to multiply conclusions of this sort but they do not form history, and the reader may be left to frame them for himself from the data here supplied.

The Penghulu Dagang said that his people had once had *pěsaka* which were taken away from them by the Malays. These included an earstud of ebony (*subang arang*), appropriated by the Malays of Kampong Ara (said to be near Larong), an ivory earstud (*subang gading*), once the property of Batin Makbut, of Semujong, a ladle (*sěndok kěluang*) taken by the Malays of Durian Daun, a *sigar jantan* and a blowpipe of hard-wood (*sumpitan bėbėras*) which was lost. The *sigar jantan* was taken by the Dato' Mantėri Tabuan, who was himself of pure Sakai parentage, and whose brother, Baung, was an ancestor of the Penghulu Dagang Gadoh who gave this information. According to Malay records Tabuan

was the fourth Mantëri. Three of these still form *pēsaka* of the Malay *waris* as detailed above; as regards the *sëndok kěluang*, the name appears to be now associated by the *waris Mantëri* with a miraculous round rock in Triang, while the name *sigar jantan*, according to the Dato' Penghulu of Jelevu, is given to a *këris* which is a *pēsaka* of the Ulu Jelevu. But why should a *këris* be called *sigar jantan*? Furthermore, this same *këris* is associated with a spirit called *Biring Bërkilang* who is supposed to guard over the Penghulus of Jelevu and to have invisibly supplied the plate of rice to Maha-Galang at Kuala Dulang. The truth is that the virtue of these *pēsaka* lies in some spiritual force supposed to reside in them; and while the headmen have been most obliging in producing them for observation, they are, as orthodox Muhammadans, reticent about their properties. What the *sigar jantan* and the *sëndok kěluang* really were, or are, is not as yet clear. In such cases aggressive curiosity is the worst weapon of investigation, though the secret may in time yield to a patient interest. In any case any account of the early history of Jelevu must be extremely tentative until more has been found out with regard to the Biduanda or Mantra of Kenaboi.<sup>1</sup>

Mention must also be made here of the rectangular pigs of tin which are found from time to time in the bed of the Kenaboi river. They have been brought to the surface by the elevators of the Kenaboi Hydraulic Mine. Mr. Ross, the manager, has also found one of the moulds, though it is of a smaller size than the pigs, and several pieces of tin articles including what appears to be a large circular tin earstud. Some pieces of gold are also suggestive of possible workmanship. The pigs are com-

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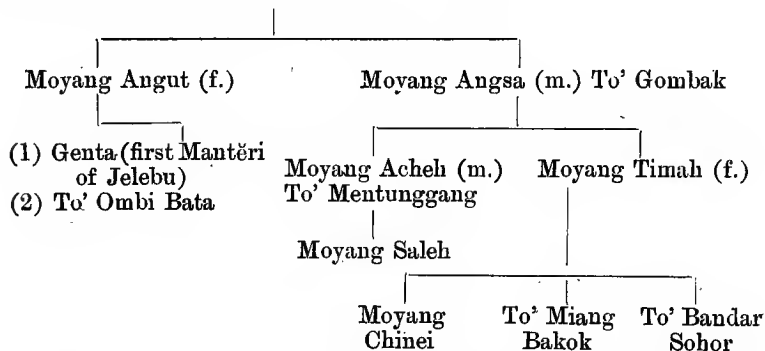
<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI.

monly attributed to Siamese miners. Their presence in the river would appear to indicate an intention to hide them and a hurried departure of the miners, who never returned to recover them. Their origin, however, must remain a matter of conjecture.

Muhammadanism is said to have been introduced into Jelebu before the Malay occupation of the country by a certain Raja Khatib. He came from Johor by way of the China sea and the Pahang and Triang rivers. Near what is now Juntei he disembarked from his boat, and standing on a sand spit called to the infidel hillmen to come and hear the faith (this is obviously an attempt to explain the name of the kampong Pasir Panggil which is near Juntei). Such of them as were converted proceeded with him upstream as far as Kuala Jelebu, where they were circumcised on the spot where the Dulang mosque now stands. They did not return to their old haunts but went further south and settled in Ulu Klawang. After performing the rite of circumcision Raja Khatib found it convenient to vanish from their midst, and was never again heard of. One wonders if his end was so very miraculous. This story concludes all the data at present available for the early history of the country.

## II.—MOYANG SALEH: EVENTS OF ABOUT 1757 A.D.

As has been mentioned above the first Malay Penghulu of Jelevu is said to have been To' Gombak "who came from Pagar Ruyong." He was succeeded in his small chieftainship by To' Mentunggang, and he again by To' Moyang Saleh (or, as the name is sometimes written, Mundayong Saleh). The following genealogical table, given by the present Dato' Penghulu Abdullah, is interesting as showing the relationship of these early founders of Jelevu:



Moyang Angut and Moyang Angsa are commonly represented as being women of the indigenous Biduanda tribe, though such a statement is repudiated by those who prefer to plant their genealogical tree wholly in the congenial soil of Pagar Ruyong. It is noticeable, however, that this pedigree does not establish any hereditary right in favour of either Gombak or Mentunggang who were merely consorts, but that it does establish the claim of Moyang Saleh to any privilege inherent in the female line. He is in fact exactly on the same plane as Genta. It has been explained in the foregoing section that Batin Shah Alam Raja Sahari is said to have become Mantëri to

Moyang Saleh, and this Batin may be identified with Genta; for Shah Alam Raja Sahari is a Malay title not a name, and is still used by the Mantëri in his capacity as interregent between the death of one penghulu and the election of another. It is also clear that the phrase *waris bërundang* applied (in the Dato' Penghulu Abdullah's Hikayat Jelebu) to 'To' Mantri Genta, To' Ombi Bata, To' Miang Bakok, and Shah-Bandar Sohor, refers to some privilege devolving in the female line from the sisters Angut and Angsa, and not to any heritage on the side of Gombak or Mentunggang. Dato' Moyang Saleh, then, was heir to certain privileges on his mother's side in common with these other cousins; but he proceeded to ensure his pre-eminence by obtaining from the Tëngku Bësar, Abdul Jalil V of Johor, an unquestionably Malay title supported by a seal of office. His journey to Johor for this object has been made the subject of the favourite Jelebu tale of "How we broke the tie with Johor." The historical value of this tale lies merely in the fact that certain references to contemporaneous events in Rembau give us a date and render it certain that the Sultan Muadzam Shah whose name appears on the Jelebu seal was Abdul Jalil V, Tëngku Bësar of Johor. As, however, the story is accredited in all its details by popular belief, a brief outline of it may not be out of place here:

"The Orang Kaya Kechil of Rembau had a daughter, Sëri Banun, who was very fair to see. The fame of her beauty came to the ears of the Sultan of Johor and he was minded to take her to wife. Accordingly he sent four of his captains to Rembau to fetch the maiden. The Orang Kaya Kechil, however, was loath to part with her and said in excuse that she was already

given in marriage. So the captains returned without their charge, and the Orang Kaya Kechil married his daughter forthwith to a man of the place. But the Sultan of Johor was wroth beyond measure and sent his captains to summon the Orang Kaya Kechil to his presence. The latter refused to go and sent his son, Siamat. On being interviewed by the Sultan this Siamat was seized with symptoms of *latah* and answered the Sultan in the exact terms of the latter's questions. So when the Sultan asked, 'It is a fact that the Dato' refused to send the girl, Sri Banun, and gave her in marriage afterwards to another man?' he answered in those very words. Then the Sultan order him to be seized and put to death. On receiving news of his execution the Orang Kaya Kechil was very sad and went to seek help from the four *Undang*, beginning with the Dato' of Johol. The first three excused themselves on various grounds, the Dato' of Johol saying that his position was comparatively a small one, the Dato' Ēngku Klang that he had embraced the Adat Tēmenggong, and the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong that he didn't care to make a fuss. The Dato' of Jelebu, To' Moyang Saleh, however, was struck by the reflection that if the Orang Kaya Kechil was treated in this way his own turn might come next. Accordingly he made up his mind to proceed to Johor and remonstrate with the Sultan. He was accompanied by his four courtiers, To' Bėruang Hitam, To' Lant Api, To' Bank, and



To' Gagah Lela Perkasa. On his arrival the Sultan refused to have anything to do with him. To' Moyang Saleh therefore assumed an attitude of passive obtrusion and encamped on an ant-hill right before the palace gate. The Sultan still affected not to see him; and To' Moyang Saleh had recourse to the miraculous. For seven days and seven nights it rained without ceasing, and yet the five squatters on the ant-hill did not feel a drop of rain, for Moyang Saleh merely threw his coat into the air, where it automatically spread out so as to form an umbrella of great beauty and ample proportions. The Sultan saw this feat with his own eyes and so far modified his attitude as to allow Moyang Saleh and his courtiers to enter the palace and sit down in the verandah. He proceeded, however, to ignore their presence completely, and thereby provoked further and more aggressive manifestations of a miraculous nature. To' Běruang Hitam began picking pieces off the palace pillars, while To' Laut Api had a violent fit of coughing, in the course of which he belched so much fire and smoke as to make it appear that the palace was on fire. To' Bauk added to the performance by shaking the partitions to such an extent that the house felt to be turning topsy turvy, and To' Gagah Lela Perkasa leant against an adjacent coconut tree and waved it to and fro till every frond and nut had fallen, despite the fact that this tree was guarded by the fiercest of the Sultan's officers in a coat of mail. This had the effect

of at last bringing the Sultan out of his private chamber. He smilingly addressed the Dato', remarking that hitherto no year had favoured him with a visit from the Dato' of Jelevu despite the fact that he daily omitted nothing which might facilitate such an interview. The Dato' replied by apologising for having come without a present but explained this by pointing out that in Jelevu the days were hot and the drought long, the coconut fronds had fallen from the excessive heat, the betel vines had withered up, and the areca nuts had been devoured by squirrels. 'I accept your excuses,' said the Sultan, 'and now you can be getting back to Jelevu.' But Moyang Saleh was not thus lightly to be dismissed: 'I have no hereditary status nor title,' said he. Then said the Sultan, 'Dato' of Jelevu, thou can'st return to Jelevu, a king unto thyself, and in thyself penghulu, under the title of Dato' Manduleka Mantëri Akhirzaman Sultan Jelevu; henceforth it behoveth thee not to do obeisance, or to acknowledge a suzerain; thou can'st enforce thy own orders, and need'st not seek instructions from the Sultan of Johor any more.' Moyang Saleh then craved a meal for his courtiers, which proved an expensive request, for the four of them consumed no less than 50 gantangs of rice and a whole buffalo. He then left for Jelevu, but not till after To' Gagah Lela Perkasa had symbolized the cleaving apart of Jelevu and Johor by severing the Sultan's waterpot with his sword."

It may be noted that it is quite clear from internal

evidence alone that the first part of this tale has nothing to do with the second, for Moyang Saleh makes no mention whatever of Siamat or the Orang Kaya Kechil of Rembau to the Sultan of Johor. As regards the details of the story they are obviously unhistorical, and local folklore has it that the four marvellous courtiers were in reality were-tigers, and that on their return to Jelebu they betook themselves to the jungle in feline form. In all probability we know one of those who did actually accompany Moyang Saleh in his expedition, and that was the Shah Bandar Sohor, his first cousin, who also obtained a seal from the Tengku Besar. The copy of this seal which is now in use is dated 1267, which is obviously a mistake for 1167. The new seal may have been cast after 1267, which would account for the smith's mistake. Of the Dato' Penghulu's seal there are extant three copies, one being kept by each of the three *waris bĕrundang*. That of the *waris Sarin* is a very modern replica; and of the other two that of the *waris Kemin* is older than that of the *waris Ulu Jelebu* (to which Moyang Salleh belonged). This proves conclusively that the original seal has been lost or discarded. None of these three seals are dated.

On his return to Jelebu, To' Moyang Salleh is said to have made the following appointments:

Genta of the *pĕrut* Meribong and of the *waris bĕrundang* to be Mantĕri;

Bata of the *pĕrut* Larong and of the *waris bĕrundang* to be Ombi;

To' Mengiang Bakok of the *pĕrut* Kampong Bukit and of the *waris bĕrundang* to represent the Mungkal tribe;

Dato' Chinchang of the *pĕrut* Tambun and of

- Menangkaban lineage to represent the Tanah Datar tribe ;
- Dato' Senara A'insha of the *pěrut* Triang and of Menangkabau lineage to represent the Batu Blang tribe ;
- Dato' Raja Balang Munok to represent the *waris Ulu Jelebu* ;
- Dato' Paduka Mundok to represent the *waris Sarin* ;
- Dato' Maharajah Inda Tatang to represent the *waris Kemin* ;
- Dato' Bandar Sohor to represent the *waris Mungkal*.

It will be noticed that the Mungkal tribe has two representatives, an arrangement existing up to the present time. The half of the tribe which acknowledge the headship of the Bandar had the hereditary right of collecting customs on cargoes brought up the Triang, under the name of *waris ayer*. The relationship of Moyang Saleh, Genta, Bata, Bakok, and Sohor has been already pointed out, as has also the significance of the term *waris bėrundang*. To' Moyang Saleh is also credited with having prescribed the peculiar insignia of the various dignitaries (which will be mentioned in their own place later) and of appointing the officers of the penghulu's household. It must be remembered, however, that Moyang Saleh is the Romulus of Jelebu, and that all local tradition has been focussed upon him as such. Consequently, we are left with a chaos of legend before him and a barren list of names after him, whereas his alleged achievements might more truly be spread over both the anterior and subsequent periods. The true historical significance of Moyang Saleh lies in the fact that he was the first Manduleka Mantėri Akhirzaman Sultan Jelebu.

## III.—1757 A.D. TO 1886 A.D.

The Dato' Penghulus of Jelebu have continued in unbroken line from the rule of Moyang Salleh to the present day. The law of succession is that the office should rotate among the three *waris bĕrundang* in the following order: Ulu Jelebu, Sarin and Kemin. The inclusion of the last two communities must have been the outcome of a *pakat*, as Ulu Jelebu provided the first four penghulus in succession. The full list of them is as follows:

Dato' Moyang Saleh	...	Waris Ulu Jelebu;
„ Bukur	... ..	„ „
„ Bakul	... ..	„ „
„ Yunus	... ..	„ „
„ Lob	... ..	„ Sarin;
„ Duraman	... ..	„ Kemin;
„ Durongga ( <i>alias</i> To'		
Tua or Gila)	...	„ Ulu Jelebu;
„ Pandak	... ..	„ Sarin;
„ Mahmud ( <i>alias</i> Ku-		
lup Tunggal)	...	„ Kemin;
„ Haji Ibrahim	... ..	„ „
„ Saiyid Ali...	...	„ Ulu Jelebu (ac-
		cepted British
		protection);
„ Abdullah	... ..	„ Sarin (the pre-
		sent ruler).

The representation of the *waris Kemin* twice in succession (Dato' Mahmud and Dato' Haji Ibrahim)

is accounted for by the fact that the former was deposed after a brief reign for various irregularities as regarded *adat*, and more particularly for the heinous offence of importing a Chinese lady-love from Rembau.

The Yamtuanship of Jelevu is said to have had its origin in the days of Penghulu Bukor. The people of Jelevu sought a scion of the royal line to come and dwell among them, and Raja Melewar who was at that time Yamtuan in Sri Menanti is said to have sent them his younger brother, Adil, who became domiciled at Pita Serambai in Ulu Klawang. Neither he nor his immediate successors, Raja Singkul and Raja Asil, were crowned Yamtuan of Jelevu, though they are said to have sojourned in Pita Serambai. We must remain sceptical, however, as regards the connection of all three persons with Jelevu history. It is certain that Raja Adil was anterior to Raja Melewar, instead of being his younger brother, while Singkul and Asil are well-known figures in Rembau history and it is improbable that they can have spent much time in Jelevu. Moreover, in one local account mention of them is omitted altogether. At all events this one thing is certain, that Singkul's son Ahmad Shah, or Sabun,<sup>1</sup> was the first man to be crowned by the penghulu, *waris*, and *lembagas* and to be accorded the title of Yamtuan Jelevu. This Sabun was alive in Newbold's time, so that the Yamtuanship is of comparatively recent date, say about 1820 A.D. Local accounts do not tell us who was the Dato' Penghulu at the time of Sabun's installation, but by comparing the list of the Yamtuans with that of the penghulus, it is probable that Durongga or "the madman" was ruling at that time. His lunacy may have driven the *lembagas*

<sup>1</sup> Or Almarhum Kramat, as he was known after his death.

and *waris* "to meet altogether and notify to the penghulu their intention of making Sabun supreme ruler, because his behaviour towards the people was good, and he seemed a man capable of supporting and sustaining the country; and because he was also of considerable mental ability and his personal character was beyond reproach."<sup>1</sup> It is said also that a certain Raja Inisan was making a disturbance in Jelebu at this time and that Těngku Sabun,<sup>2</sup> who had been brought up in Rembau, was invited to Jelebu to help to get rid of him. This Inisan is said to have been a descendant of Raja Adil by another wife. He was the father of Raja Lahap and grandfather of Raja Jafar who married Yamtuan Abdullah's niece, Sulong (still living). Raja Jafar was executed at Sri Menanti by Yamtuan Antah and from all accounts was a man of dangerous character. Sabun drove Inisan away to Gemenchēh, with which place he and his descendants were thereafter associated.

Sabun was succeeded by his son, Jaya, of whom we know that he died while watching a cock-fight in the Dato' Klana's house at Pantai, and that his corpse was brought back by To' Amar Mentek of Ulu Klawang to Pita Serambai and there interred.

His son, Tengku Etet, and nephew, Tengku Abdullah, at once pressed rival claims to the throne. Something like a civil war ensued and Abdullah fled to Sungei Ujong and lived at Parui until Etet's decease, while the latter made his head-quarters at Kenaboi where he was supported by the Dato' Mantėri. The title of Yamtuan was accorded him but it does not appear that he was ever formally installed. He died at Pita

<sup>1</sup> Mr. O'Brien's account, J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 14, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Or Almarhum *Kramat*, as he was known after his death.

Serambai, after a short reign of three or four years, and was at once succeeded by his rival and cousin, Abdullah, who was destined to be the last of the Yamtuans. This prince proceeded to arrogate to himself privileges which contravened the customary law that "the king is not owner of soil, neither can he levy taxes: he is only the fountain of justice with a claim upon men for his sustenance." He initiated his policies without reference to the Dato' Penghulu and headmen, and on 26th April, 1877, he executed a treaty on behalf of Jelevu with the Governor of the Straits Settlements. There was nothing much in the treaty; he agreed to live peaceably in his own country and not to molest other people's countries, to grant trading and mining facilities to foreigners, to refer such matters of dispute as he could not settle himself to the Maharajah of Johor. To this treaty he was sole signatory on the part of Jelevu, and we can well imagine the indignation of the Dato' and headmen at such arrogation of power, and at the reference to arbitration by Johor.

A period of strife ensued, in the course of which the "Fountain of Justice" put to death To' Bilal Ismail, an officer of the Dato' Penghulu's household, without referring the matter for trial by the Dato' and headmen. This happened in 1880, and the Dato' and eight chiefs then met together and unanimously decided to "root him up" and send him to Sri Menanti, as not being wanted in Jelevu. They pointed out that a Yamtuan is appointed on certain conditions, to wit: "If anyone become charged with any capital offence, then, before he be stabbed or beheaded the penghulu *waris* and *lembagas* must in conclave examine his offence. And if it be meet that he should die then shall he be stabbed or beheaded according as it be done by the penghulu or the



Yamtuan, for the *kěris* of execution belongs to the penghulu, the Yamtuan wields the sword and the lembagas apply the fetters. Moreover, the Yamtuan's allowance shall be given him by the penghulu, and the latter alone shall levy it by taxes and customs; and whatsoever it shall be, with that must the Yamtuan be content. He must not make a disturbance or fuss, nor wheedle and grab for money, nor play the dandy, nor draw up his own estimates. The penghulu alone shall settle these things. The Yamtuan shall be likened unto a great serpent: what he hath at the hands of the penghulu, that alone shall he receive. Moreover, if the Yamtuan be minded to do anything, he can command nothing without reference to the penghulu and to the penghulu alone. He cannot make private arrangements with the various tribal communities and dependents of lembagas. And at what time the Yamtuan shall repudiate this understanding he shall be cast out upon a waveless ocean and upon a grassless field, in fact, he shall be expelled the country. And if the undang repudiate this understanding he shall be stricken dead by the sacred majesty of Pagar Ruyong, and if a lembaga shall break the same, he shall be devoured by a sword of miraculous temper, but this understanding shall not be set at nought nor made light of."

That these conditions were ever stipulated between the parties concerned in the above terms (as our authority would have us believe) is impossible owing to the composite character of the language employed. The form is, however, interesting as being a fair statement in Malay law of the case for the prosecution. But Abdullah was not so easily "rooted up." He had not a few supporters, among whom may be mentioned To' Raja

Balang Long, head of the *waris Ulu Jelebu*, Dato' Mantëri Ahat, Dato' Maharajah Inda Latib, and Dato' Lela Angsa Haji Osman, of whom the last-named enjoyed the privilege of being at the same time Secretary of State for the Yamtuan and lembaga of the Tiga Batu tribe. According to customary constitutional practice no direct communication could take place between the Dato' Penghulu and the Yamtuan. The penghulu would confide his message to the Dato' Mantëri, who again must approach the Yamtuan through the Dato' Lela Angsa and *vice versa*. A period of increased disturbance and bloodshed ensued. The Dato' Penghulu Saiyid Ali dealt with the refractory Raja Balang, Mantëri and Maharaja Indah, by inducing the remainder of the eight chiefs to "root them up"; but as serious arguments arose as to the quorum necessary for this eradication, and the uprooted dignitaries refused to wither in the natural course, it happened that even so late as 1885 there were two or more claimants to each of these offices, a state of things which considerably puzzled the first British Collector, whose diary contains such expressions as the "duplicate Maharaja Indah," etc., and which accounted for the signature of the treaty of 1883 by two Maharaja Indah. Both Ahat and Raja Balang Long initiated intrigues with Pahang; and the latter introduced an envoy from that State, who said that Jelebu had always been a part of Pahang, as anyone might know who observed the work of God, for was not the river Triang tributary to the Pahang? On 24th August, 1883, a further treaty was made with the British Government, as a result of a request made separately by both parties that the Governor would arbitrate and arrange their differences, send a British Resident to Jelebu, and settle the boundary between

Jelevu and Pahang. The British Government refused to recognize the deposition of Abdullah; firstly, because it had not been notified to the British authorities; and, secondly, because it did not appear that such deposition had ever been completely effectual or valid; and, thirdly, because the Yamtuan had been recognized by the former treaty. An allowance of \$1,200 a year was granted to him by the British Government on condition that he should not interfere with ordinary administration of the country "which shall be left to the penghulu, nor claim dues which have hitherto been divided amongst the Datos." The request for a British officer and a settlement of the Pahang boundary was not as yet met by the British Government.

Abdullah would seem to have had difficulty in reconciling himself to his new status of peace with honour, for in January, 1884, he had again to sign a bond undertaking not to interfere in the Government. In the middle of this year, Mr. H. O'Brien made his visit to Jelevu in which he saw the effects of the ceaseless petty disturbances: "The present condition of the country is truly deplorable. It bears marks of having been, at no very distant period, fairly prosperous and sufficiently peopled, but now, speaking generally, the whole land is waste. I passed through mile after mile of deserted kampongs with fine padi land all round in abundance and with fruit trees still in bearing." On 13th December, 1884, Yamtuan Abdullah died. Saiyid Ali then sent for the dead King's son-in-law and nephew, Tengku Idris, who was living at Tampin, to come and succeed him. He was met by Saiyid Ali in Sungei Ujong and received the permission of the Acting British Resident of Sungei Ujong to proceed to Jelevu

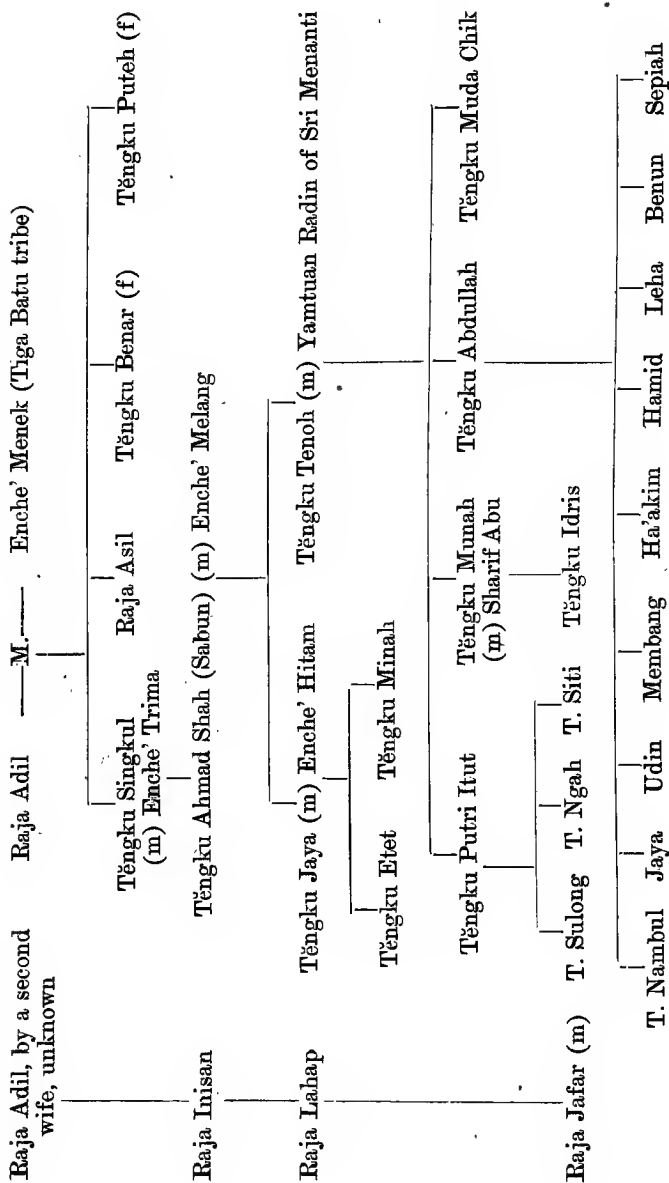
with twelve police constables and a hundred dollars in money. On arrival in Jelebu he found himself confronted by two rival claimants—namely, Abdullah's younger brother (Tengku Muda Chik) and his eldest son (Tengku Nambul), of whom the latter had been sent by the Yamtuan Antah of Sri Menanti with authority to "take over." Saiyid Ali stood by his own man, Tengku Idris, but no settlement was arrived at; and in the meantime the corpse of Abdullah lay unburied. Mr. O'Brien on hearing of the deadlock ordered immediate interment of the body, and intimated that succession would depend upon the orders of the British Government. On 8th June, 1885, the first British Collector, Mr. E. P. Gueritz, arrived in Jelebu, and the first request made to him by the Dato' Penghulu was that the Yamtuanship should be entirely abolished. British policy was to give full support to Saiyid Ali, which, indeed, was the only means of reducing chaos to order. The eight chiefs soon fell into line with the penghulu, when they found that he was backed up by the new Government. In July they left the matter of the Yamtuanship in the hands of the Resident; and, though in February, 1886, the question was reopened on a petition in favour of a Yamtuan, on the occasion of the Governor's visit in March, they gave their definite opinion that the post should be permanently abolished. The Dato' Lela Angsa was "rooted up" from among the eight Datos, and thus the Tiga Batu tribe, which represented the female side in the royal pedigree, was left without a lembaga. This arrangement was finally ratified by the treaty of September, 1886, in which the permanent residence of a British officer in Jelebu was assured, and by which in the words of a local narrative

“The penghulu and chiefs crowned the British Government and vested in it the safekeeping and administration of the country.”

Under British protection Sungei Dua was taken as the boundary between Jelebu and Pahang. According to tradition the boundary was fixed at various times in the following places, each change being a concession on the part of Jelebu: (1) Telök Mereban Saratus, (2) Lompatan Bruang, (3) Meranti Sembilan, (4) Pasir Kelambu, (5) Jambu Bertumboh, (6) Kuala Poh (where the clump of Aur Duri planted by To' Kaya Hassan of Temerloh is still visible), (7) Kuala S'meih, (8) Sungei Dua. The original Sakai boundaries of Jelebu have already been mentioned in the first section.

Another traditional description of Jelebu is that it includes all the country within the following hills. On the side of Pahang: Melambai, Beraga, Penyabong, Beras Ginting, Terak, Hidong, Hitam, Telemong, Sepam and Hantu. On the side of Selangor: Ginting Piras, Pantar, Rambun, Nior Rambang, Ginting Impan and Silang. On the side of Semujong: Bukit Tangga, Batu Bo'ok, Salai, Lubok Jin, Busong Lalor, Runtoh and Besar.

The following table will show the relationship and pedigree of the Yamtuans of Jelebu.



## IV.—ULU KLAWANG.

As has already been said, the Malay population of Ulu Klawang are the descendants of a set of immigrants other than those who came over the Langkap Pass and settled in Ulu Jelebu. They entered the Pahang watershed by way of Bukit Tangga or Bukit Silang (between Tangga and Bukit Ulu Beranang), have maintained their own traditions, own as their headman a *tiang balai* of the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong, claim to be a Sungei Ujong *waris* family, and actually did, up to the time of British protection, assert their independence of Jelebu. This independence was indeed recognized by the Jelebu headmen and accounted for by the story related in Mr. O'Brien's account (page 339):<sup>1</sup> "Now Klawang is said to belong to Sungei Ujong for the following reasons: Some time ago a son of the Dato' Penghulu of Jelebu, violated a daughter of the Penghulu Klambu and was compelled to marry her. Sufficient money to pay the fine was not forthcoming, and so in place of a money payment the Penghulu of Jelebu gave Klawang to Sungei Ujong—that is to say, so much of it as is on the right as one goes upstream to Sungei Ujong and downstream so far as Lubok Kerbau Balar. For any measure that the Yamtuan wishes to make in the district so defined, he must first obtain the sanction of the Government of Sungei Ujong." This story is of no historical value, as is proved by the flagrant discrepancies with which it is repeated. In some versions it is a Dato' Penghulu of Jelebu, who

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<sup>1</sup> J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 14, p. 339,

ravishes To' Dusun (which was the young lady's name); in others a Yamtuan of Jelevu, in others To' Malika, or To' Adek, or To' Tempurong of Kemin, and in an Ulu Klawang version it was a Penghulu of Klawang, and the land merely a strip of private property from Lubok Batu to Rambai Baris on the left of the Klawang going upstream. To' Dusun is said to have been a sister of Moyang Jerei, a worthy sorcerer who split into two pieces the squealing rock in the river Triang and silenced it forever. He is now a were-tiger, which haunts the kampong of Bemban. Her father, too, is a mythical personage, none other than Mr. Skeat's "Chief Mosquito Curtain." The tale is further embroidered with details as to how the Penghulu of Jelevu sent a slave with a buffalo to the Klana, and how the Klana killed him on seeing the paltriness of the gift. The unhappy slave's name is given as Tahat or Untong, and in the latter version his death inspires the perpetration of a vile pun by the Klana. In any case, allowing for an element of truth in the tale, there can have been no ceding of territory, but perhaps an abandonment of claims on the part of Jelevu.

The following is the tradition handed down by the *waris* of Ulu Klawang as to their origin: "From Menangkabau came a granddaughter of Merah Pateh and a niece of Batin Merah Galang whose name was Dara Puteri. She sojourned a while in Palembang and then in Lingga, whence she proceeded to Klang and married To' Enggang Sati. She remained there for eight years and eight months and bore To' Sati a daughter, Genta Permai, who went to Bandar Beranang and married To' Nahudum Sati. She bear him two sons, To' Dorgot, who was given the title Batin Puteh Siamang Puteh by



To' Merah Galang and who ruled in Bandar Beranang, and Semamak, who went to Pantai with his sister, Demah, and became To' Mendika Mantëri. The youngest daughter, To' Serai, lived for a while with her brother, Siamang Puteh, at Bandar Beranang, and then crossed to Ulu Klawang by way of Bukit Silang where she met To' Dollah Hakim, who was an elder of her tribe (*ibu-bapa*). The latter's exact origin is not given, neither is that of To' Begul whom Serai proceeded to marry. Her son, Pan-net, and great-grandsons, Lendut and Mentek, became Penghulus of Klawang in turn, and it was Mentek who brought back Yamtuan Jaya's corpse from Pantai to Pita Serambai. At his death two other branches of the family claimed representation and a compromise was made whereby the three *përut* of Kampong Tanjong Berangan, Kampong Bukit Peraduan and Rambai Baris (the original *waris*) should hold the penghuluship in succession. The subsequent penghulus were :

To' Abu Bakar

or Bukit ... Waris Tanjong Berangan ;

To' Badusin or

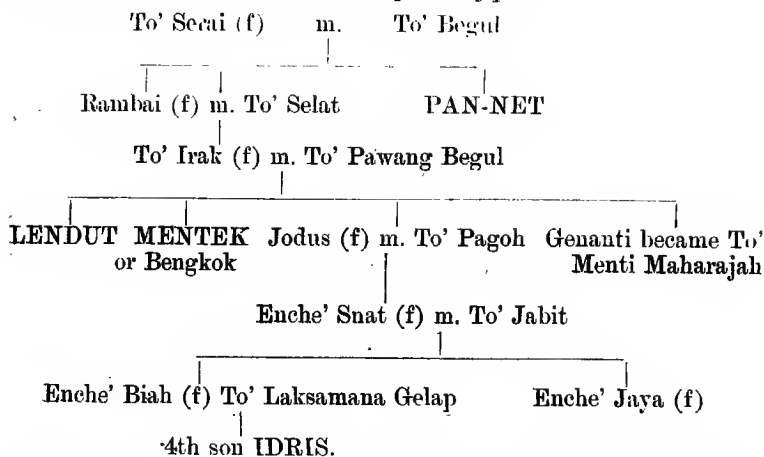
Sabun ... „ Kampong Bukit Peraduan ;

To' Dusun ... „ Tanjong Berangan.

The last appointment was the cause of great dissension, because a representative of the *përut* Rambai Baris had not been nominated. The matter was referred to Pantai, but To' Klana Ushoh was at that time under detention at Singapore, and the Dato' Penghulu Jelebu, Saiyid Ali, took the opportunity of offering himself as arbiter. His decision was accepted. To' Dusun was turned out and the present Penghulu To' Amar Idris of the *waris* Rambai Baris appointed. It is necessary here to point out that the title "Pengkulu of Ulu Klawang" is of

Malay origin, and that though it is now a regular mukim penghuluship it is an hereditary office and confers greater dignity upon the holder than the penghuluship of the other mukims, which owe their inception to British administration. The term penghulu is used by the Jelebu Malays themselves of two persons only—the Dato' Penghulu and the Amar Penghulu—as the headman of Ulu Klawang is invariably designated. Other penghulus are known merely by their individual names with the term Dato' prefixed. The title Amar belongs to the Penghulu of Ulu Klawang in his capacity as head of a Sungei Ujong *waris* family, but is still continued under the new status. It needs only a perusal of the British Officer's diary for his first six months of residence in Jelebu to see that Ulu Klawang had maintained a practical independence prior to British protection. This had been possible owing to the natural barrier of mountains which divided it from Sungei Ujong and the royal colony of Pita Serembai which lay between it and Jelebu. With the Yamtuans of Pita Serembai the penghulus exhibited a close connection, and the Tengkus of the present day preserve certain quaint old sayings as to what could be expected of the Amar Penghulu by way of repairs if the thatch leaked, and so on. Thus it was that when the Resident of Sungei Ujong sent men to survey the river Klawang as a boundary between that State and Jelebu, Yamtuan Abdullah joined hands with his enemy, the Dato' Penghulu Saiyid Ali, in strenuously opposing such an encroachment. For the Yamtuan exercised supreme authority “from Bandar Berangan up to Sungei Melentang—that is to say, to Batu Gominting—and the boundary between Klawang and Jelebu was at Lubok Batu.” The pedigree of the

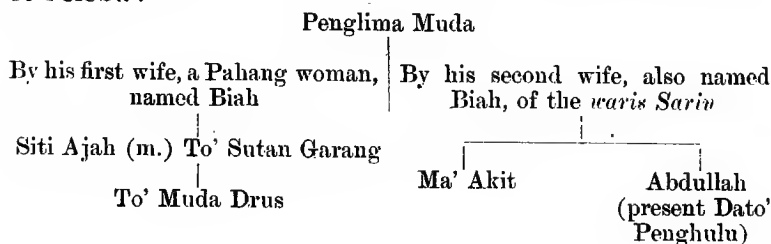
Rambai Baris penghulus is as follows, those who held the office being printed in capital type :



Between Mentek and Idris came the three representatives of the *pěrut* Bandar Berangan and Kampong Bukit Peraduan as already mentioned. Among the heirlooms of the Rambai Baris family is a piece of paper bearing the seal of Abdul Jalil V of Johor and purporting to be a letter of appointment given by a Yamtuan of Jelebu (unnamed) to To' Dollah Haakim. The latter must have died long before the inception of the Jelebu Yamtuan-ship, and the absurd character and composition of the *kuasa* would anyhow suffice to prove it a forgery. By way of summary it may be safely be said that the Ulu Klawang Malays derive their origin, as the headman does his title, from Sungei Ujong, and that until recent times they constituted a practically independent community, though they showed an intermittent allegiance to Sungei Ujong, supported the Yamtuans of Pita Serambai, and occasionally, perhaps, consulted the headmen of Jelebu.

## V.—KENABOI.

Kenaboi forms part of the territory over which the *varis Mantëri* held hereditary rights, but the existing prosperous colony of Malays is of purely Pahang origin. In the days of To' Mantëri Tabuan, a Pahang Malay, named To' Penglima Muda, came with a band of followers and obtained the Mantëri's leave to settle along the lower reaches of the Kenaboi river. The late Dato' Penghulu Saiyid Ali remembered their arrival in his early boyhood, and so this must have been about the year 1830. They paid *hasil-tanah* to Tabuan; but upon the latter's decease, the usual dissensions arose on the subject of the succession, and the Penglima Muda went down to Sungei Ujong and offered allegiance to the Dato' Klana. This was accepted and tribute was paid to Sungei Ujong until a new Klana came into office, when it was transferred to the Dato' Penghulu of Jelebu, by mutual arrangement. The Mantëri objected to such a misapplication of his revenues, but without success. Penglima Muda was succeeded by his son-in-law, To' Sutan Garang, who is still alive, but owing to leprosy has delegated his power to his son, To' Muda Derus, who is also the Penghulu of the mukim. The following pedigree shows the connection between the *tua* of Kenaboi and the present Penghulu of Jelebu:



## PART II.

## TRIBAL AND POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF JELEBU.

The following tribes are represented in the Jelebu constitution: Biduanda, Batu Blang, Tanah Datar, Mungkal and Tiga Batu.

The Biduanda are divided into five *waris* sections, of which the *waris Mantěri* and *waris Ombi* were the original *waris něgěri* and the *waris Ulu Jelebu*, *Sarin* and *Kemin* the *waris běrundang*. As has been explained above in the first section all five have become *waris něgěri* so far as regards participation in the monthly allowance which taken place of the *hasil tanah*; while the *waris Sarin* have split into two parts, of which one cannot furnish candidates for the Undangship. The reason given for their disqualification is that their first headman, Dato' Raja Teras, killed a man without reference to the Undang.

The following table will show the titles, *pěrut*, and subordinate officials appertaining to each *waris* and tribe.

Tribe.	Tribal Sub-division.	Title of Headman.	<i>P'ut</i> in order of <i>giliran</i> .	Elders.	Notes.
Biduanda...	Waris Mantëri	Dato' Mantëri Sah Memangku Alam Raja Sahari	Merebong ... Kampong Tengah ... Durian Daun ...	To' Lela Raja To' Beremban To' Amar Pahla- wan	The original <i>waris</i> "Nigëri" commonly known as the <i>waris yang dua</i> .
Do. ...	Waris Ombi	Dato' Ombi Pangkal Maharaja Lela	Mongkan ... Larong Hulu ... Triang ... Larong Hilir ...	To' Dagang To' Senara Sati Imam Perang To' Lela Perkasa	
Do. ...	Waris Ulu Jelebu	Dato' Raja Bawang	Ulu Jelebu (Che- nor) (Pejadi)	(Sëri Raja Lela)	There is now only one <i>p'ut</i> recognized, including all the <i>waris</i> .
Do. ...	Waris Sarin A.	Dato' Paduka Menti	Bandar Tinggi ... Aur Duri Peninjau	To' Muda	
Do. ...	Waris Sarin B.	Dato' Raja di Raja	...	...	Cannot furnish the Undang.
Do. ...	Waris Kemun	Dato' Maharaja Imda	Triang ... Kemin ... Bemban	Penglima Jaya (can be elected out of any of the three <i>p'ut</i> )	
Batu Blang	...	Dato' Sendara Angsa	Triang ... Kampong Berini	To' Laksamana To' Lela Setia	The <i>waris Ulu Jelebu, Sarin and Kemin</i> furnish the Undang alternately in this order. They are commonly known as the <i>waris yang tiga</i> .

Mungkal ...	(1)...	Dato' Mengiang Merah Bangsa	Kampung Bukit... Danau Selamat ... Bukit Piatu	Penglima Hitam To' Maharaja Senara	
Do. ...	(2) Waris Ayer	Shah-Bandar...	Chepum ... Jelevu Tengah	To' Berjuangsa To' Maharajah Perba	
Tanah Datu	...	Dato' Chinchang Maharajah Lela	Sawah Liat	To' Laksamana	
Tiga Batu	...	(Dato' Lela Angsa)	Tambun ... Kampung To' Bujang Kuala Klawang	To' Johan	Lembagaship abolished after discontinuance of the Yamtianship.
Biduanda ...	Waris Ulu Klawang	Dato' Amar Pen- ghulu	Rambai Baris ... Tanjong Beruang Kampung Bukit	To' Menti Maharaja	The eldership rotates so to speak in front of the penghuluship. If the penghulu be a Rambai Baris man, then the To' Mantéri is supplied by Tan- jong Beruang.

The political constitution of Jelebu consists of the Undang (the Dato' Penghulu) and the *Orang delapan*, as follows:

Dato' Raja Balang	...	Waris Ulu Jelebu;
„ Maharajah Inda	„	Kemin;
„ Paduka ...	„	Sarin;
„ Mantëri		
„ Ombi		
„ Chinchang	...	Tanah Datar tribe (Lembaga)
„ Senara ...	...	Batu Blang „ „
„ Mengiang	...	Mungkal „ „

The Undang could not initiate or alter any policy without referring the matter to the "Eight," while the latter had the power of deposing or confirming an officer, even including the Undang himself, if they were unanimous in their intention. The Undang is selected in turn out of the *waris yang tiga* in the following order: Ulu Jelebu, Kemin, Sarin. On the death of an Undang the Mantëri becomes regent and his orders are *Sabala*. The three lembagas then approach the Mantëri and tell him to seek out a new Undang. The Mantëri refers their request to the Ombi who calls the *waris yang tiga* and instructs the *waris*, whose turn it is, to put forward a candidate. It is the Ombi's business to satisfy himself as to the eligibility of the candidate proposed and to reject him if the rules of inheritance (*pēsaka*) have not been observed. If the Ombi is satisfied on this score he must present him to the Mantëri who will consider the candidate in respect to his qualifications as regards *adat*. If he approve him, he will commend him to the "Eight" with whom rests his final acceptance or rejection. His actual installation is performed by the Mantëri. Once in



three years the "Eight" must do obeisance to the Undang in accordance with a prescribed ceremony. The constitution is thus described by the local sayings:

*Pertama mēnchabut, kēdua bērtanam; sah sa-kata, bērkēbulatan dato'-dato' yang dēlapan. Kata bērchari kapada lēmbaga yang tiga ya-itu Dato' Chinchang, Dato' Mēngiang, Dato' Sēnara.*

"The unanimous resolution of the eight headmen is sufficient to plant and to uproot; the order to seek a successor is given by the three lembagas."

*Tali adat kapada Mantēri; tali pēsaka kapada Ombi; sah betal surut labu undang kapada waris-nya; hidup mati kapada Undang; gēmok bērpupok sēgar bērsiram kapada waris-nya.*

"The Mantēri holds the reins of *adat*, the Ombi those of *pēsaka*; to support or fail the Undang, to make him withdraw or proceed, lies with the men of his *waris*; the Undang has powers of life and death: to plaster his corpulence and lave him when fit is the business of his *waris*."

*Bila waris Ulu Jēlēbu mēnjadi Undang Dato' Raja Balang titian adat, bila waris Kēmin mēnjadi Undang Dato' Maharaja Inda titian adat, bila waris Sarin mēnjadi Undang Dato' Paduka titian adat.*

"When the Undang is representative of the *waris Ulu Jelebu* official representations must be made through the Dato' Raja Balang; when he is of the *waris Kemin* through the Dato' Maharajah Inda; when he is of the *waris Sarin* through the Dato' Paduka."

*Bila rosak pēsaka bērtengok kapada Dato' Ombi ;  
bila rosak adat bērtengok kapada Dato' Mantēri ;  
patah tambok, hilang bērganti. Ganti hidup  
bērkēgēlaran, ganti mati bērkēbulatan.*

“A breach of entail demands the Ombi's attention, a breach of *adat* the Mantēri's. Where a tree snaps shall a new tree grow : where there is a loss shall a substitute be found. Where substitution is effected during the life of an officer it is by designation, when rendered necessary by death, by election.”

The above description needs to be explained and amplified which may be done under various heads as follows :

(1) *The three Lēmbaga*.—These are selected by the *ibu buapak* of their tribes, and the *ibu buapak* by the tribesmen according to their families (*pērut*). The three *lēmbaga* have the right of making complaints, suggestions, demands for an election (*kata bērchari*), etc., but all must be made to the Mantēri. The latter would consider their case and proceed further if he thought fit. He is therefore known as the *lunas lēmbaga*.

(2) *The Mantēri* is the regent during the interregnum between the death of one Undang and the election of another. He has distinct powers in such an election as has been already shown. He is the only official who can bring matters to the notice of the Undang just as the To' Lela Angsa was the only means of access to the Yamtuan. “*Kunchi Raja Langsa, Kunchi Undang Mantēri*.” He could not, however, approach the Undang personally, but through the *titian adat*.

(3) *The Titian Adat* is the headman of the *waris* to which the reigning Undang belongs. He would bring

the Mantëri's representations to the ear of the Undang, and if they were of a serious nature call the members of the *waris* together. The latter would then determine as to whether they would support the Undang with regard to the matter in point, make him withdraw from or proceed with a policy, make him cast off retainers (*gëmok bërpupok*), or give him their best assistance if they thought him right (*sëgar bërsiran*). The power of the Undang is therefore at once restrained and strengthened by his *waris*.

(4) *The Undang* had powers of life and death, but only after reference to the "Eight" could a man be executed. He possessed many insignia and a court (*see* appendix II).

(5) *The Orang Dëlapän*.—The eight Chiefs held the balance of power in the constitution, provided unanimity was assured (but it never was). With them lay the final ratification of every election and the power of dismissal. They had also to be consulted on all matters of administration and policy. At one time their number reached ten, as both the Dato' Raja di-Raja and the Dato' Lela Angsa enjoyed the privileges conferred by membership. The present "Eight," however, represent the original members, as the Dato' Rajas owed their title to a split in the *waris Sarin*, and the Dato' Lela Angsa owed his to the Yamtuans.

(6) The *Yamtuan* was (in theory) merely a figure-head, a "great snake" to be fed by the Undang, a solitary elephant (*gajah tunggal*). Such was the theory of the constitution of Jelebu: with its application, or rather subversion, in practice we have already dealt. Complex and elaborate in itself, it was surrounded with a wealth of ceremonial detail which persists to this day. Some of

this State ceremony will be found set forth in the appendices. It would be easy to dilate further on the constitution, but it would hardly be of any practical value, as it has always been honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

APPENDIX I.

Tables showing actual succession to the various titles.

A.—WARIS MANTERI.

<i>Pérat</i>	Mérbong	Kampung Tengah	Durian Daun	Mongkan
Ibu Buapak.	To' Lela Raja.	To' Beremban.	To' Amar Palawan.	To' Dagang.
Mantéris in their chronological order	1. Genta		3. Panjang	
	2. Kurns			
	5. Mela	4. Tabuan		
	9. Niyat	6. Pesan	7. Kokut	8. Dagang
	11. Lebai	10. Acheh		
	15. Haji Ma' Ali	12. Ja' Amin	13. Ahat	14. Jundung
	17. Kesi	16. Latih		
	21. Tabat	22. Long	18. Sawal 20. Talib	19. Haji Mat Nur 23. Haji Saleh

## B.—WARIS OMBI.

<i>Pērut</i>	Triang	Larong Hilir	Larong Hulu
Ibu Buapak.	Imam Perang.	To' Lela Perkasa.	To' Senara Sati
Ombis' in chronological order	1. Kesu  4. Dali   9. Ta' Ah 11. Kamar 13. Amin Ab- dullah 14. Udin	2. Langsa  5. Badu  8. Ijah 10. Mamat  15. Na' am	3. Bata  6. Molek 7. Saban  12. Jantan  16. AbdulKathir

## C.—WARIS ULU JELEBU.

<i>Pērut.</i>	Ulu Jelebu.	Chenor.
Raja Balangs in chrono- logical order	1. Munoh 2. Irut 3. Manah 4. Dollah 5. Dekus 6. Kidin  8. Long 10. Rahmat	7. Saiyid Ali (after- wards Undang)  9. Sahu

D.—WARIS KEMIN.

<i>Përut.</i>	Triang.	Kemin.	Bemban.
Maharaja Indas in chronological order	1. Tatang  4. Angsa  6. Usoh  8. Jang	3. Komin    9. Talib	2. Antah  5. Musit  7. Musin  10. Dollah

E.—WARIS SARIN. DIVISION (i).

<i>Përut.</i>	Aur Duri.	Peninjau.	Kirim Mudek.
Padukas in chronological order	1. Mendok 2. Linjun 3. Burok  6. Mamat	4. Jambi 5. Sari  7. Jamai	8. Gelam 9. Haji Bidin

## F.—WARIS SARIN. DIVISION (ii).

<i>Pěrut.</i>	Kuala Jelebu.	Merobau.	Jelin.
Raja-di-Rajas in chronological order	1. Teras  4. Kiya  6. Pilus	2. Rayat 3. Erut	5. Rahamat

## G.—BATU BLANG TRIBE.

<i>Pěrut.</i>	Triang.	Běringin.
Senaras in chronological order	1. Isa  4. Sukul 5. Jantan	2. Pinchil 3. Butun  6. Mamat

## H.—MUNGKAL TRIBE. DIVISION (i).

<i>Pěrut.</i>	Kampong Bukit.	Danau Selamat.	Bukit Piatu.
Mengiang in chronological order	1. Bakok  4. Selayak	2. Sintak  5. Hussain 7. Solok  10. Jati	3. Panau  6. Duhi 8. Sada 9. Tahir 11. Haji Salim



I.—MUNGKAL TRIBE. DIVISION (ii). WARIS AYER.

<i>Përut.</i>	Chepum.	Jelevu Tengah.	Sawah Liat.
Shah Bandars in chronological order	1. Sohor 2. Kechil  5. Onah	3. Kahar  7. Chadin 8. Ja' Amat 9. Ahmat 10. Saiyid Ahmad 11. Suh	4. Awan  6. Ampang

J.—TANAH DATAR TRIBE.

<i>Përut.</i>	Tambun.	K. Klawang.	Kampong To' Bujang.
Chinchang in chronological order	1. Dagang  4. Ma' Ali    11. Pileh	2. Tuang  5. Kathir 6. Timbang  8. Sidek 9. Tahir 10. Sakar	3. Tanggoh    7. Wahid

APPENDIX II.  
THE UNDANG'S OFFICERS (JUAK).

Title.	Tribes.	Office at a Mengadap.
1. Laksamana	Waris Ulu Jelebu ...	Holds a black standard
2. Penglima Hitam	Mungkal ...	„ tufted spear
3. Penglima Garang	Waris Mantri ...	„ sword
4. Penglima Sutan...	Tanah Datar ...	„ tufted spear
5. Penglima Sutan (2) ...	Batu Belang ...	„ sword
6. Penglima Jaya ...	Waris Kemin ...	„ long <i>këris</i>
7. Penglima Bebas	Waris Sarin (lingkon- gan Dato' Paduka)	„ an umbrella
8. Penglima Raja ...	Waris Ulu Jelebu ...	„ „
9. Penglima Perang	Waris Sarin (lingkon- gan Dato' Paduka)	„ a long <i>këris</i>
10. Penglima Dalam	Waris Sarin ...	Prepares the Undang's insignia

### APPENDIX III.

#### THE YAMTUAN'S OFFICERS. (*From Mr. O'Brien's Account*).

1. Beruang Sati, chosen by Dato' Senara.
2. Penglima Garang, chosen by Dato' Mantëri.
3. Penglima Mamat, chosen by Dato' Chinchang.
4. Penglima Prang Nò. 2, chosen by Dato' Mengiang.

## APPENDIX IV.

## COURT CEREMONY ATTACHING TO THE UNDANG.

"Now the insignia of the Undang at his installation, and when he keeps the *hari raya haji*, and when he gives a feast is as follows: Three halls of audience must be erected and the name of the first is *Balai Měngadap*, and of the second *Balai Mělintang*, and of the third *Balai Rong*. The *Balai Měngadap* shall be erected in front of the shelter where sits the *Mantěri* and the *lembagas*, the *Balai Mělintang* at the end of the lawn and here shall be seated the *waris yang tiga*; the *Balai Rong* faces the *Balai Měngadap* and the *Ombi* shall sit there. Behind the *Undang* are ranged his ten officers (appendix II) with their appurtenances.

"Moreover, the place where the *Undang* sits in state (*sěmayam*) shall be decorated and upholstered as follows: Five great pillows shall be piled one above another (*bantal běsar běrsusun lima tingkat*), seven banners (*simpai*) shall be hung on the outer side and five on the inner, the pillows ends shall be adorned with a criss-cross of ribands (*silang gunting*) and wound about with a spiral band (*sawa měngampai*), and the name of the *Undang's* seat shall be the "moving mountains" (*gunong běrangkat*). The open space (*halaman*) shall be decorated as follows: On either side, upstream and downstream, two white streamers (*ular-ular*), two black streamers, two yellow standards (*tunggul*), two black standards, one red and white flag known as "the rising dawn" (*pajar měnyingsing*), one black and white flag known as the blotched skin (*sopak*), and one ensign (*běndera*). Moreover, on the upstream side shall be hung a tufted spear (*tombak běnděrang*), a sword, a long *kěris*, and a tasselled umbrella (*payong iram-iram*), and on the downstream side the same. When all the appurtenances are complete, the decorated umbrellas unfolded, the tufted spears shaken loose, and the insignia spread forth, then only shall the salute of eight guns be given.

"Now the insignia of the headmen who are below the *Undang* shall be displayed upon the second *hari raya* and upon a feast day, as follows: Within the house, a great pillow (*běrsusun sa-tingkat*), with criss-cross ribands; in the courtyard a tufted spear shall be hung, a sword, and a tasselled umbrella, and these shall be placed on the

upstream side. They shall have a salute of four guns. The headmen entitled to the above insignia are the Orang Delapan only.

“Now if the Undang attends a feast given by any of the eight headmen, the following procedure shall be observed: The invitation shall be made by the headman in person at the Undang’s Balai and he shall bring with him a betel box (*tepak*) and a young lad carrying a sling of cloth to hold the box in (*pěndukong*). If the Undang accepts the invitation the headman must make necessary preparations for his reception, two tufted spears, two swords, two fringed umbrellas, and a salute of eight guns if the Undang condescends to enter the headman’s house: if he remains below, one spear, one sword, one umbrella, and a salute of four guns is sufficient.”

## APPENDIX V.

## FUNERAL CEREMONY UPON DEATH OF AN UNDANG.

The hearse (*usong*) shall have five storeys (*tingkat*). The corpse is washed by all the mosque officials in the country together with the Hajis. The Undang's officers (*juak*) must hold the insignia round the corpse, which is laid upon such a place as is prepared for the Undang at a *hari raya* (i.e., the *gunong bĕrangkat*) and the new Undang shall be installed in the same place, which is left after the funeral for that purpose. As the corpse is being shrouded forty Hajis offer up prayer. After prayer, the corpse is set out on the five-storeyed litter and a suitable lad is chosen to mount to the top of the litter and scatter money therefrom as the litter is borne off by the headmen's retainers. This boy is chosen by the Mantĕri out of the *pĕrut* Bakong of his own *waris* and is given the title of *Dato' Pĕrdana*. Moreover, eight maidens of the same *waris* also stand on the litter on either side of the corpse keeping it in position with their extended hands, while a ninth girl bears a young plantain-tree, also on top of the litter. This is said to be a token (*tanda*) of assured succession (*patah tumbuh*). The Pĕnglima Bebas and Pĕnglima Raja also stand on top shading the corpse with umbrellas. It may be imagined that the litter is very heavy and in fact it takes about thirty people to carry it. When all is ready it is carried to the tomb (*makam*). The new Undang should have been already chosen; and from the grave, men go straightway to see the installation of the new Undang by the Mantĕri. For three days after the Undang's death no male shall wear the hats called *kopiah* and *songkok* nor shall a Haji wear *sĕrban*. Only a white "kopiah" can be worn during these three days, and no woman shall wear a veil over her countenance during this period. Such is the burial of an Undang of Jelebu.

## APPENDIX VI.

A NOTE ON THE MANTRA OR BIDUANDA  
ABORIGINAL TRIBE IN JELEBU.

There are at present time five settlements of this tribe in the Jelebu District: at Ulu Kenaboi, Ulu Jerang, Lakai, Serdai and Putus Rejang. The Ulu Jerang colony is connected with that of Ulu Kenaboi, but the others form separate communities and have no association with each other. The total population of these five colonies is almost exactly 200.

*Houses.*—The tribe have adopted the Malay style of house in their more accessible kampongs, but they use four different kind of houses of their own up in the hills: (1) A very small circular hut made out of *chuchok* fronds bent together so as to form a peak. These huts present the appearance of miniature wigwams. A flooring of sticks and bamboo is laid over the ground so as to prevent contact with the earth while sleeping. These huts are not intended as permanent dwelling but are used during the felling of a new clearing on which a house of type (2) will be built. The latter is a disreputable shanty, built on a steep slope, so that the floor is on a level with the ground on the uphill side, where the door is situated, and is supported on props on the other. These houses are fearfully low so that it is impossible to stand up inside them. (3) The third type approximates to the first except in so far that its shape is triangular rather than circular, that it has two entrances instead of one, and that it has a regular sleeping bench raised about a foot off the ground. It is built of *chuchok* fronds. (4) At Serdai, in the eastern position of the district, a Mantra has built a tree house at a height of about 35 feet above the ground approached by a rough ladder. It appears to be the only one of its kind in the district. It is a curious characteristic of the Ulu Kenaboi people that they will not build their houses in propinquity to a stream, but prefer to bring the water to their doors through a bamboo conduit of great length. This practice is probably due to some superstitious fear.

*Belief as to a Future Life.*—The Kenaboi Mantra have very definite and peculiar views on this subject; the other Mantra have not as yet been approached in that regard. According to Kenaboi

belief every man has two souls: his body-soul and the soul of that in him which speaks and thinks. At death the two souls (still in conjunction) proceed to Bukit Sendong where is a huge cooking pot with fire beneath it, and across its mouth a sharp sword laid edge upwards. Over this sword the combined soul has to walk. If a man's life has been good this is an easy performance, but the bad man totters and falls, and both his souls perish miserably in the boiling pot. Then the child of Beloh throws their scalded carcasses for the dogs to devour (the body-soul seems to be as substantial as the body itself). This Anak Beloh who superintends the ordeal was the son of Father Beloh who fell from heaven on Bukit Kerejan (the mark of his fall was pointed out to the writer). It was his uncle Mertang who cut Gunong Hantu and heaven asunder with one sweep of his mighty sword. His father then went down to the ocean and was transformed into the waringin tree which grows in the midst of the ocean (*tasek*). Anak Beloh ended his earthly career by eating a bertam fruit, which apparently contained poison. But we must now follow the fortunes of the good man's souls who have passed through the ordeal successfully. The two souls are now disunited. The body-soul goes to Gunong Hantu, still in its earthly form. It is subject to disease, and these body-souls have poyangs (*pawangs*) of their own and medicines such as are used in the present life. They are, however, certainly immune from decay and probably from death. It is said that birds which die while flying over Gunong Hantu and fall thereon never lose the sparkle of their eyes or suffer decomposition of any kind. Whether the body-soul's existence may end in an eternal lifelessness of this kind is not clear. The inner soul meanwhile has made a longer journey reaching *Jěngkah Běnua* in the Island of Fruit. This island is variously described as being in the uttermost oceans or as floating in the sky. Here the soul assumes the form of a tiny child, very fair to see, who lives in the blossom of the trees which grow there (*Jěngkah* means a tree in the Mantra dialect, hence perhaps the name "Jengkah Benua," "the land of trees;" this, however, is only conjecture). Each little soul has a bud to itself for a house. They are everlastingly happy and immortal, and free from sickness of every kind.

*The Kampong Hierarchy.*—The three major officials are the Batin, Jenang and Jekra. The following are also met with in Ulu Kenaboi: *Pěnghulu Dagang*, *Pěnghulu Balai*, *Pěnglima Hitam*, *Pěnglima Putih*, *Pěnglima Běsar*, and *Pěnglima Kěchil*. At Putus Rejang there is a Mantěri and "*rang tua kampong*." In conversation the title is invariably



used and not the name of the person. Where the person addressed has no title he is called by the name of the place where he lives—*e.g.*, Aiyi Hitam, bini Aiyi Hitam, Aiyi Balek, etc. The personal names, which are seldom used, are peculiar in form, such as (for men) Ta'An, Ya'in, Sewan, Saghit, Belengkeng, and (for women) Yan, Kudoit and Pagin.

*Language.*—The tribe speak Malay interlarded with a few words of another language in respect of animal names, family relations, some simple actions, and a few common objects. This perhaps accounts for the story advanced by some Malays that they are descendants of Malay men who a very long while ago ran away to the hills and joined a jungle tribe.

*Sickness.*—Sickness of any kind is attributed to demons, but elephantiasis and dropsy are ascribed to two demons in particular. It is said that a certain Batin Run, a grandson of Chan Galam, was passing wicked, and that in order to oppress his people and acquire unlimited power he went to the land of the Batak, and brought back with him two demons, Jemoi and Busong. The former enters the body through the legs and eats its way upward to the heart. There is a marsh within two miles of Tohor which is called "Paya Jemoi." When the writer walked through this swamp with Batin Saleh, the latter slashed frantically with his parang at every shrub or rush that might touch his legs. The Malays have borrowed this superstition, saying that dropsy and elephantiasis are caused by walking bare-footed over a Sakai grave.

*History.*—Most of the Mantra history has already been mentioned. It should be added, however, that the whole locality of Ulu Kenaboi is associated with fights with the *orang Batak*. Who were these Batak? The old Kenaboi miners, or some other aboriginal tribe? It is impossible to tell in the absence of any hint as to the chronology of these battles. We can only hope that light may be thrown on the matter by further investigation.

## APPENDIX VII.

## FURTHER NOTES ON ULU KLAWANG.

There are certain tribal institutions still extant in Ulu Klawang which have not received the recognition of the Undang Jelebu nor of the British Administration. They are, however, of considerable antiquity, and are said to date from the days of Yamtuan Sabun (p. 20), when the Amar Penghulu supported the newly-arrived princely house with the main object of obtaining for himself independence of the Klana and a miniature court of his own. The result was a promiscuous conferring of titles by Sabun, while the law of exogamy required a sub-division of the Biduanda tribe in order to admit of inter-marriage in the little valley. The sub-division was effected by Sabun and, strangely enough, one of the new divisions changed its tribal name and became anak Sëri Melenggang. This forms an exact counterpart to the Mungkal tribe in Jelebu (p. 46), the origin of which was undoubtedly Biduanda (p. 12); the change of tribe in each case being dictated by the exigencies of exogamy. The Lembaga of the Sëri Melenggang division was entitled Dato' Raja Mahakota, and beneath him was an ibu bapak, To' Jaya Pahlawan. The To' Raja Mahakota retains the Biduanda privilege of acting as *Pangku* between the death of one Amar Penghulu and the election of another. Holders of the title have been :

Lihat ;  
 Buntal ;  
 Lincheh ;  
 Jatin ;  
 Ma' Ali ;  
 Jadin.

Other sub-divisions of the Biduanda tribe are :

(1) The *waris Silasilah*, Ulu Klawang, whose ancestral lands are at Renal. Their headman bore the title of Si Amar Mantëri. Holders of the title have been :

To' Kopek Sesak ;  
 Ladim ;  
 Salim ;  
 Rahim.

(2) The *waris Kepong*, who are said to have come from Perjam Gibok; their headman is styled To' Senara Muda. Holders of the title have been :

To' Dudok ;  
Kahar ;  
Dollah ;  
Silang ;  
Nalil ;  
Ja'amat.

None of these sub-divisions can furnish candidates for the Amar Penghuluship.

The Tiga Batu tribe are the *Ayer Kaki* in Ulu Klawang—that is to say, women of this tribe alone can become consorts of the princes of Pita Serambai, though the privilege can be extended to immigrants of the Batu Hampar tribe who are the *Ayer Kaki* in Sri Menanti. In addition to their lembaga To' Lela Angsa (now no longer, *vide* p. 26), the *Ayer Kaki* supplied three Jirak to the Amar Penghulu—namely, Panglima Jaya, Panglima Tera, and Panglima Garang. The obsolescence of these petty dignitaries is a matter for congratulation as regards administration, for when it is remembered that Ulu Klawang is a narrow valley of about three miles, it becomes a clear case of “Where everybody's somebody there's no room for anybody.”

## APPENDIX VIII.

## A NOTE ON THE TABOO OF THE BIDUANDA TRIBE.

The following articles of food are taboo: *Pisang udang*, *padi jelai*, and *kerbau balar*. It is also forbidden to live in a house with *tiang beralas*.

The following story is told in explanation: "Many ages ago a Biduanda boy wished to gather *pisang udang* which hung over the house. He climbed up the *tiang beralas*, which gave way, and he fell into a large bin of *padi jelai*, which being smooth and slippery, swallowed him up and asphyxiated him. The parents missed the child, but could not find him till they noticed a pink buffalo licking up something (*danur*) under the padi bin. From that day to this these four things have been taboo."<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that the Mungkal tribe in Jelevu, whose Biduanda origin was noticed in appendix VII, have the same taboo. The other tribes in Jelevu do not appear to have any.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Skcat, "Malay Magic," p. 190.







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